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BUTLER, SIR GEOFFREY GILBERT

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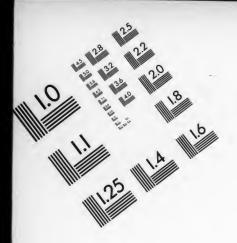
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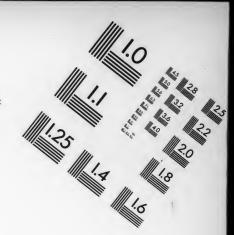
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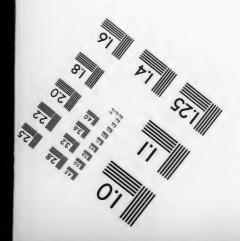
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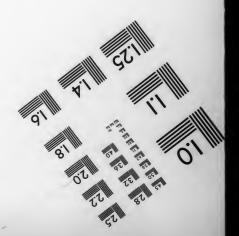
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Guide to an Exhibition of Historical Authorities Illustrative of British History, compiled from the Manuscripts of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge

by

SIR GEOFFREY BUTLER, K.B.E.

FELLOW AND LIBRARIAN

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TO

MY COLLEAGUES

OF THE

HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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PREFACE

THIS collection of exhibits has been formed to show the kind I of materials upon which a historian of Great Britain relies for his information. It is selected from the famous library of Archbishop Parker which he bequeathed to Corpus Christi College in 1574. Manuscripts after the Reformation had frequently passed from their place in the monastic libraries and had wandered from hand to hand about the country. It was Parker's work to seek them out, to collect them into a central spot and to preserve them for the use of succeeding generations. The Archbishop approached all manuscripts in a spirit of antiquarian reverence; he sympathised, as we learn from his correspondence, with the interests of the palaeographer, the liturgiologist and the philologian and he has provided materials for all of these to study. Not least of his desires was, however, to make a collection of materials for the study of English History. He succeeded in his purpose to such an extent that Fuller, speaking of his bequest, calls it the "sun of English antiquities" while the Provost of Eton, Dr M. R. James, speaks of it as "one of the richest store houses of ancient learning in the country." The following notes make no pretence to originality and are taken from secondary sources for the convenience of visitors.

BEFORE THE CONQUEST

LEGENDARIES, LAWS, INSCRIPTIONS, HISTORIES

In the days before the Conquest a predominating part was played by the lives of Saints and the legends of their miracles. The first efforts of the chroniclers were naturally particular and local. A distinct step had indeed been made when they passed from describing the life-work of a saint or the passion of a

¹ I notice for example that out of the forty-three chronicles selected by Sir T. Duffus Hardy as the most important authorities for the period between the Norman Conquest and the end of the reign of Richard I no less than fifteen are to be found in the Corpus library, and that of these, eleven are either unique manuscripts or manuscripts of primary authority.

martyr to putting upon record the fortunes of the house to which he had belonged (or which bore his name), together with a list of its Abbots or the munificence of its founders and benefactors. Yet in many cases their authority, though poor, is our only authority and from their pages, along with much that is absurd or untruthful or superstitious, is to be gathered invaluable sidelight upon the history of the day and the customs of contemporaries.

Exhibit No. I (Parker Ms. No. 389) is a LIFE OF ST GUTHLAC, the anchorite of Crowland, undertaken by a certain Felix at the command of Ethelbald, King of the East Angles, in the early part of the eighth century. (See Duffus Hardy, vol. 1. p. 405.) The manuscript on view, which is the oldest but one of the nine known (the oldest is also at Corpus), was written some time in the ninth century.

The passage at which the book is open runs:

Now there was in the days of Ethelred, the illustrious King of the Angles, a certain man of noble Mercian stock, by name Penwald, whose house, abounding in all kinds of wealth, stood in the territory of the middle English folk (Mercia)...etc. etc.

The book is written in a fine flat-topped minuscule of Celtic (or insular) aspect. The page open is adorned with an initial of interlaced work and dragons' heads.

By its side are Exhibits Nos. 2 and 3 (Parker Mss. Nos. 286 and 197) which are placed here for association's sake.

Exhibit No. 2 is a copy of the famous CANTERBURY GOSPELS, which a reasonable tradition asserts was sent by Pope Gregory the Great to St Augustine.

Exhibit No. 3 contains the Celtic Gospel fragments. They illustrate the nature of the work done by the insular Celtic school of writing about the date at which Felix of Crowland wrote his life of Guthlac.

Fortunately historians are not alone dependent for information upon stories contained in legendaries and the lives of saints. The next two exhibits (Nos. 4 and 5) are examples of a different class of document.

Exhibit No. 4 (Parker Ms. No. 201) is a compilation of Anglo-Saxon Laws, drawn up in the eleventh century and containing the laws of Edgar, Ethelred and Athelstan. The oldest version of the Anglo-Saxon laws known to Dr Liebermann and judged by him to be written about 925 is also in the Corpus

Library (in Parker Ms. No. 173). It is bound up with the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

Exhibit No. 5 (Parker Ms. No. 190) contains among other works a COMPENDIUM OF ECCLESIASTICAL LAW presented by Bishop Leofric (bishop of Devon and Cornwall, then of Exeter 1046–1050) to the Cathedral Library at Exeter.

Exhibit No. 6 (Parker Ms. No. 140), THE CARTULARY OF BATH ABBEY, contains certain notices of manumissions by Abbot Aelfsig, the last Abbot of Bath. One, which may easily be seen, reads as follows:

It is declared on this Gospel that Leofnoth the son of Aegelnoth of Korstun hath bought him and his offspring from Aelfsig the Abbot and all the brotherhood at Bath for five ores [one ore=one-eighth of a mark, a Danish unit] and twelve head of sheep. Witness the port reeve Kascill and all the burgesses of Bath. May Christ blind him that ever invalidates this.

Two exhibits (Nos. 7 and 8) complete this section.

Exhibit No. 7 (Parker Ms. No. 391) is the PORTIFORIUM (or service book) of BISHOP OSWALD (Bishop of Worcester from 960-993), an eleventh century book bearing invaluable testimony in the sphere of Anglo-Saxon liturgiology.

Exhibit No. 8 (Parker Ms. No. 23), which the late Henry Bradshaw dated as tenth to eleventh century, contains the well-known drawings in the Works of Prudentius (the Psychomachia), drawings which in themselves, even if unsupported by other testimony, would go far to upset the idea that the art of Anglo-Saxon times was of necessity crude and barbarous.

These eight works are specimens of the material upon which historians have based their evidence in compiling the history of England before the Conquest. It is easy to understand how an intelligent and an informed study of such materials throws light upon the normal life of the day, the social and legal ideas current, the religious beliefs and practices, the conception of artistic achievement. A series of learned and adroit interpreters have by means of such evidence given an entirely new picture of the Anglo-Saxon epoch, its relation to the continent, and the stage of development which it had reached. There is no reason to think that the endeavours of such interpreters have been completed.

So much for the unconscious testimony of the literary remains of these centuries. We have too the conscious testimony of the

historians. The first history of Britain was written by Gildas, about the year 545: the next by Nennius about 850. The first great historian in England however was the Venerable Bede. Born in 673 he lived his life as a monk at Jarrow in Northumbria and died in the act of translating the scriptures into English in 735. His Ecclesiastical History of the English was written in Latin but is of course to a large extent a general history of the country. From 597-731 the history is given in full detail, being based upon contemporary records, collected by Bede, and upon his own personal knowledge. It is, to take one example, the chief authority for the introduction of Christianity into England, both in the south by St Augustine from Rome, and in the north by Aidan from Iona. There are more than 130 Ms. copies of Bede known. It has been said that King Alfred caused the Ecclesiastical History to be translated into Anglo-Saxon.

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Eshibit No. 9 (Parker Ms. No. 41) is a West Saxon version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History written about the time of the Norman Conquest. The passage, at which the book is open, is from the middle of the description of the test, suggested by the Abbot Dinoth to the British Bishops, of St Augustine's Christian humility:

And now if Augustine is meek and of lowly heart, then it is believable that he bears the yoke of Christ and teaches you to bear it. If however he is not meek but proud, then it is clear that he is not of God; and heed not his words.

They said again, "how may we discern this?" He said, "See that he comes with his followers to the place of meeting and takes his seat. And if he rises up to meet you when you come, then be sure that he is Christ's servant, and listen to his words and his teaching with submissiveness. If however he scorns you and will not rise to meet you, when you are in the majority, then let him be scorned by you." Now they did just as he had said. They came to the place of meeting: archbishop Augustine sat in his chair. When they saw that he did not rise up for them, they were at once angered and considered him haughty and contradicted and opposed all his words.

Side by side with Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* must be taken the following:

Exhibit No. 10 (Parker Ms. No. 173) is the earliest and best Ms. of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (A) (with which is bound up Liebermann's "earliest authority for the laws of Alfred and

Ine" and an eighth century manuscript of Sedulius). The latest editor of the chronicle, Mr Charles Plummer, regards this manuscript as written in the reign of King Alfred, maintaining that "after 892 the entries were made not very long after the events which they describe." He supposes the existence of an earlier chronicle (which he calls Æ) drawn up by King Alfred himself, possibly even dictated in certain portions by that king, to whom popular tradition is correct in attributing the idea of the compilation of a national chronicle as opposed to merely local annals. This original copy no longer exists, but the chief claim to represent it to-day lies with the Corpus manuscript.

The passage at which the Ms. is open contains an account of the struggle with the Danes in 871, including the great victory of Ethelred and Alfred at Ashdown, the site of which is popularly supposed to be marked by the well-known figure of a white horse cut in the chalk on the Berkshire Downs. This is visible from Uffington Station on the Great Western Railway.

871. In this year the army [i.e. the Danes] came to Reading in Wessex, and, three nights after, two jarls rode up, when the aldorman Ethelwulf met them at Inglefield and there fought against them and gained the victory; and one of them was there slain whose name was Sidroc. Four nights after this King Ethelred and Alfred his brother led a large force to Reading and fought against the army, and there was great slaughter made on each side: and the aldorman Ethelwulf was slain, and the Danes held possession of the battleplace. And four nights after, King Ethelred and Alfred his brother fought with all the army at Ashdown; and they were in two divisions; in one was Bagsecg and Hâlfdân, the heathen kings, and in the other were the jarls; and then King Ethelred fought with the kings' division, and there was the king Bagsecg slain: and Alfred his brother fought against the jarls' division, and there was the elder jarl Sidroc slain, and the younger jarl Sidroc, and Asbiörn jarl and Fraena jarl and Harald jarl, and both divisions put to flight and many thousands slain; and they were fighting till night.

This may well have been dictated by Alfred himself.

Exhibit No. II (Parker Ms. No. 100) is a transcript, made in the sixteenth century, of the famous Life of Alfred by Asser. The unique manuscript of this was destroyed in the Cottonian fire in 1731. The exhibited transcript becomes therefore the best authority for that valuable work. It too is open at a description of the battle of Ashdown. This series is completed by the next exhibit.

Exhibit No. 12 (Parker Ms. No. 183) is a Ms. of the LIFE OF ST CUTHBERT by the Venerable Bede. We know this book to have been presented to the See of Durham by King Athelstan in 931. The portrait of the King, giving the book to the Saint, at which the manuscript is open, is perhaps the oldest contemporary portrait of a king of England.

AFTER THE CONQUEST

Exhibit No. 13a (Parker Ms. No. 332) contains two Treatises BY ST Anselm written by his disciple and biographer Eadmer. It contains corrections which have been said to be in the autograph of St Anselm himself.

Exhibit No. 13b (Parker Ms. No. 480) is a Greek Psalter of the twelfth century which belonged to Robert Grosseteste (1175–1253), Bishop of Lincoln, the patron of the Franciscans, to whose library in Oxford he gave it. It contains many autograph marginal notes of Grosseteste.

After these two exhibits, included alike for their associations as also for the testimony the latter bears to the study of Greek in mediaeval England, one passes to seven exhibits, each one of which is a famous chronicle of England, as also an important or unique manuscript of it. That the mediaeval chroniclers cannot be treated by the modern historian in the same way that he can treat the ancient historians was a discovery largely of the nineteenth century, and was due to the rigorous examination to which they were subjected by a school of investigators, among whom the chief place must be allowed to the late Bishop Stubbs of Oxford. Matthew Parker's experience for example is instructive. Faced with the Flores Historiarum, attributed to Matthew of Westminster, he edited the work with the greatest care. Four years later he discovered, to his great disappointment, that his text had been taken from an imperfect manuscript. He brought out therefore a new corrected edition. His mortification must have been increased upon discovering that the Chronica Majora of Matthew Paris, an earlier writer, contained the materials from 1066-1259, from which the Flores Historiarum had been taken. In the year following his second edition of Matthew of Westminster, he published this new author. Even that was not original but taken, up to the year 1235 at

any rate, from a previous author Roger of Wendover¹. The

experience of Parker is significant.

The mediaeval chronicler, with certain exceptions, had no intention of writing original history. His practice tended towards fixing upon some previous chronicle, annexing its contents, with or without special editing, as matter to start from, and the continuation of it so as to bring it up to date. Accordingly each chronicle has to undergo an exhaustive process of collation with others. The scholars referred to above have provided several chains of descent, upon which these various manuscripts hang. Few are isolated or detached from such chains, i.e. few chroniclers adopt the position of the original writer, or the detached critic of events other than those which were contemporary. This evolutionary development of the chroniclers gives especial value to works like Bede's Ecclesiastical History or the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which are fundamental and from which most

subsequent writers start. Exhibit No. 14 (Parker Ms. No. 139) is the unique manuscript, written in the twelfth century, of SIMEON OF DURHAM'S HISTORIA REGUM. The author, a monk first of Jarrow, afterwards of Durham, belonged to the northern school of historians, who carried on the tradition of Bede. He wrote, beside this, about the year 1105, a history of the Church of Durham. On analysis his History of the Kings proves to be based upon Bede, an early Northumbrian chronicle and from 848 to 1117 upon the chronicle of Florence of Worcester, of which there is an important twelfth century Ms. in the Corpus Library, though this is not on exhibition (No. 92). Simeon's work again was continued by one John of Hexham for the years 1129-1154, the unique manuscript of which is bound up in the present volume. The whole has been edited by Mr Arnold in the Rolls Series. The passage at which the manuscript is open describes the Norman Conquest:

In the meantime while these events [the victory of King Harold at Stamford Bridge over Harold Harfager and Tosti] took place, and the King imagined that all his enemies had been destroyed, tidings were brought to him that William, kinsman of King Edward and count of Normandy, with a strong force of cavalry, artillery, archers and infantry had arrived, with all the appearance of having rallied to his side strong reinforcements from the whole of France, and had run his fleet into a

1 Hardy, I. XLIII.

place called Pevensey. And so the king turned immediately to London and moved his army in great haste; and albeit he was well aware that the flower of English troops had fallen recently in the two battles and that the main guard of his troops had not yet arrived, he did not hesitate all the same as quickly as he might to make contact with the enemy in Sussex. Thus nine miles from Hastings, where he had fixed his camp, before a third of his troops could be got into order of battle, he joined battle with them on the Sabbath on the eleventh day before the Kalends of November.

Exhibit No. 15 (Parker Ms. No. 280) is the HISTORY OF HENRY OF HUNTINGDON. This work forms an exception to the rule that mediaeval history was the work of monks. Its author was probably born at Huntingdon about 1080 and was brought up in the Palace of Bishop Blouet of Lincoln. Sometime between 1110 and 1120 he was made archdeacon of Huntingdon. The greater part is based on Bede and the A.S. Chronicle, but from 1127 to 1154 the work is original. The author was intelligent but preferred moralisation to research and generalisation to analysis of character. His history contrasts ill in this respect with the work of William of Malmesbury but it enjoyed great popularity and a European reputation. This manuscript was written in the twelfth century and is placed by the editor of the Rolls Series edition, Mr Arnold, at the head of the thirtythree manuscripts (dating from the twelfth to the seventeenth century) which have survived. It formed the object of exhaustive examination by Dr Liebermann.

The manuscript is open at a passage describing the death of Henry I from an illness caused by eating lampreys. Memorial verses follow:

When therefore the king returned from the chase he eat some lampreys at St Denis in the Forêt des Lions, which were always bad for him and for which he always had a passion. For when his doctor emphatically forbade him them, the king paid no attention to this sensible advice, it being a case of

We work pretty hard for forbidden fruit And forbidding us makes it worse¹.

Well, he had no sooner eaten them than he was suddenly and terribly upset, most distressing symptoms being brought on and proving a violent introduction to worse of the same sort, accompanied by a drop in temperature fatal to a man of his years. Then, as if by a spasmodic effort,

nature threw him into a high fever in an attempt to expel the disastrous poison. When however resistance at length failed this great king died on the first of December having reigned thirty five years and three months.

Exhibit No. 16 (Parker Ms. No. 129) is the ITINERARIUM OF KING RICHARD CCEUR-DE-LION. This thirteenth century Ms. was used by Bishop Stubbs for his edition in the Rolls Series. Stubbs proves that the book is by Richard, a Canon of the Holy Trinity in Aldgate (London). The writer enters into minute particulars concerning the second Crusade and more especially treats of the transactions of King Richard, with whose troops in Palestine he frequently claims to have been present. The Ms. is open at the passage in which the character of Richard is described.

He certainly was of noble bearing and was a fine figure of a man. His hair neither red nor golden was half way between the two; his limbs were straight and supple; his arms somewhat elongated, which came in very handy for the drawing of his sword and which rendered him a useful man at wielding it. To harmonize his legs were also long and his whole bodily proportions were to match. His appearance was that of one born to rule, whose fitness to do so was due in no small degree to his refinement and his bearing. The general recognition of his great qualities he earned not by his noble birth alone but by the virtues which were his adornment.

Exhibit No. 17 (Parker Ms. No. 76) is a splendid twelfth century presentation copy (made by the author for Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury) of the IMAGINES HISTORIARUM of Ralph de Diceto, Dean of St Paul's. Stubbs ranks the Dean high as an authority for the reigns of Henry II and Richard I. Devoted to the King and to Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of London, Becket's chief opponent, he preserves a level head even in the full flood of sentiment which succeeded Becket's martyrdom. The manuscript is open at his criticism of, and comments upon, the Constitutions of Clarendon.

The English king, as has been indicated before, was anxious to deal rigorously with criminal practices and held it to be undesirable that the dignity of the religious order should be turned into an inequitable privilege. Accordingly he decreed that clerks taken in open offence by his justices should be brought before the nearest bishop, in order that the latter might in the presence of a justice of the King discharge

¹ The quotation is from Ovid, Amor III. 4. 17.

from his jurisdiction those whom he should find guilty, and that in due course he should hand such persons over to the King's court for punishment. In direct opposition were aligned the bishops for they felt bound to protect from the lay hand those whom they might discharge lest otherwise judgement should be given twice in the same cause (bis judicaretur in idipsum). Philip de Broc, a canon of Bedford, provided an occasion for the outbreak of this controversy. He had got into trouble over a murder and when brought before the King's court of justice had spoken with contumely. But as he was not able to deny the charge in the Archbishop's court, he was stripped of the enjoyment of his prebendal stall and was banished for a couple of years from the kingdom.

Ralph de Diceto had apparently grasped the principles involved in the controversy but, like not a few contemporaries, welcomed any postponement of the issue.

Exhibit No. 18 (Parker Ms. No. 175) is the manuscript (thirteenth to fourteenth century) of Walter of Coventry's Memoriale, from which Stubbs printed the edition in the Rolls Series. The chronicle is a compilation of other compilations (e.g. Florence of Worcester, Henry of Huntingdon, Roger of Hoveden, etc.) but from 1202-1211 it appears to be original. It was probably written in the diocese of York (? St Mary's, York) perhaps by Walter of Coventry. Perhaps it was merely Walter of Coventry's present to the Library. This manuscript belonged to the antiquary Leland before it came into Parker's hands shortly before 1572. The passage displayed describes King John's grant of Magna Carta.

And so a meeting place was fixed where the parties might conveniently gather and at length after a good deal of discussion they came to an amicable settlement, the king granting them everything they wished and confirming the grant by a Charter. Then those who had assembled were received into the kiss of peace, and renewed their vows of homage and loyalty. Then did they eat and drink together; and a day was appointed for the fulfilment of the terms and it was arranged that all action necessarily arising out of the compact should be completed by that day.

Exhibit No. 19 (Parker Ms. No. 26) is the Chronica Majora of Matthew Paris. The greatest of all the monastic schools of history was that of St Albans and the greatest of the St Albans historians was Matthew Paris. The scriptorium, or literary department, of this abbey was established between 1077 and 1093;

the office of historiographer, or writer of history, was created between 1166 and 1183. The first St Albans chronicle was probably the work of John de Cella, Abbot of St Albans from 1195 to 1214. This extends from the Creation to 1188 and is a compilation from the Bible and from earlier historians and romancers, of an entirely uncritical character. Roger of Wendover, historiographer of the Abbey early in the thirteenth century, continued this compilation from 1189 to 1201, and carried on the history from 1201 to 1235 as an original historian. The whole work down to 1235 frequently passed under Wendover's name and with the title of Flores Historiarum. In 1236, on Wendover's death, Matthew Paris, who had entered the monastery in 1217, succeeded him as historiographer. He then transcribed Wendover's work with additions and corrections of his own and continued it as far as 1259. This entire work constitutes the Greater Chronicles which pass under Paris' name, being—as is generally the case with mediaeval chronicles -partly his own, and partly a re-editing of his predecessors' work. He also wrote an independent History of the English, or Lesser History, extending from 1066 to 1253, re-handling his materials according to his own judgment instead of simply adopting the records of his predecessors. As a contemporary historian Matthew Paris is invaluable. He had ample means of collecting information and material, as he was acquainted with the leading men of the day, including Henry III. He is a lively vigorous writer, criticising freely and with much independence and supporting the popular cause against the King's misgovernment and especially against the aggressions and extortions of the Pope's legates. He died in 12591.

The text in this volume was used in the Rolls Series edition. The book forms the working copy which Matthew Paris used, adding autograph corrections, supplementary passages, etc. The illustrations have been widely reproduced. There are also interesting maps. It is open at the page containing a drawing of the death of Thomas à Becket.

So the archbishop, amid the warnings of his clergy, as the evening was drawing in, entered the main body of the Church in order to sing vespers. The four satellites of evil above-mentioned had meanwhile put

¹ I have taken the above description from the admirable British Museum Guide Book.

on their arms and followed in the footsteps of the archbishop. And when they came to the Church they found the doors open in accordance with the archbishop's instructions. "For we must not change" he said "the Church of Christ, which ought to be a refuge for everyone, into a fortress just because the times are out of joint." A crowd immediately collected as the four above-mentioned knights irreverently entered the Church and began to shout aloud, "Where is the traitor to the King?" "Where is the traitor to the King?" "Where is the archbishop?" Now he, when he had caught the name archbishop, turned to meet them from the third or fourth step up to the presbytery to which he had just ascended, saying-"If it is the archbishop you seek, here you have me right before you." And when they loaded him with abuse and threatened him with death, he said, "I am ready to die, for better than life I value the assertion of justice and the Church's liberty. I do but ask that my attendants are not implicated in my punishment for they are in no way implicated in its cause." And when the abandoned murderers leaped upon him with drawn swords, he said "I commend myself and the cause of the Church to God, and blessed Mary and the patron saints of this Church and to the blessed Dionysius." Thus the martyr in his glory was slaughtered before the altar of the Blessed Benedict, and received his death wound on the very spot upon which the pouring of the holy oil had specially set him aside for the Lord's service.

Exhibit No. 20 (Parker Ms. No. 133) is the SCALA CHRONICA OF SIR THOMAS GRAY OF HETON. In August 1355 the author, who was a direct ancestor of Lord Grey of Fallodon, was constable of King Edward II's castle at Norham. He was deceived by an ambush and was taken prisoner by the Scots in a border raid. He was confined for two years in Edinburgh Castle. Here he wrote his chronicle. The earlier parts are a mere compilation. It becomes of first-rate value, when it reaches the reigns of the three Edwards, especially as being written by a soldier, who viewed affairs from a different standpoint from that of the usual clerical annalist. He offers in the prologue the usual apology for inexperience. How it was that he (the author) found courage to treat of this matter, the story tells that when he was a prisoner in the town Mount Agneth (formerly Chastel de Pucelis, now Edinburgh), he perused books of chronicles, in verse and prose, in Latin, in French and in English, about the deeds of the ancestors, at which he was astonished; and it grieved him sore that, until that time, he had not acquired a better knowledge of the course of the age. So, as he had hardly anything else to do at the time, he became

curious and thoughtful, how he might deal with and translate into shorter sentences the chronicles of Great Britain and the deeds of the English. Then follows the description of a dream, in which the Sibyl and a cordelier friar appeared to Gray and provided him with a great ladder to scale a wall. Arrived at the top, he obtained access to a mighty city, and beheld a number of allegorical phenomena which inspired him with the desire to carry out the project of a chronicle. The Sibyl bade him call his work Scala Chronica—the Ladder Chronicle; a title wherein, perhaps, may be recognised an allusion to the crest adopted by the Gray family—namely a scaling ladder¹. There is no other manuscript of the chronicle known. It is open at a passage describing Edward I's removal of the Scone coronation stone.

8

King Edward of England occupied all the castles of Scotland, and rode through the country until he came to Stokforthe, and appointed his officials, and, in returning, caused to be carried away from the abbey of Scone the stone whereon the kings of Scotland were wont to be seated at the beginning of a reign, and caused it to be taken to London at Westminster, and made it the seat of a priest at the high altar.

Exhibit No. 21 (Parker Ms. No. 258) is the unique manuscript of the Mirror of Justices, edited for the Selden Society with an introduction by the late Professor Maitland. This work professes to be a treatise on the early jurisprudence of Anglo-Saxon England. It is now known to be apocryphal, and in the nature of a political treatise, by one Andrew Horn (died 1328), sometime Chamberlain of the city of London and a prominent fishmonger. Maitland writes thus of "The Mirror":

What then shall we say of this book? and what then shall we call its author? Is he lawyer, antiquary, preacher, agitator, pedant, faddist, lunatic, romancer, liar? A little of all, perhaps, but the romancer seems to predominate. He would like that some of his tales should be believed. He hopes, as other romancers have hoped, to edify as well as to amuse his readers. But he is careful not to tell us when he is in earnest, and when he is at play....He is making an attack on powerful persons, on the king's justices and officers. He is hinting that the Royal Court is a den of thieves. It is well for him that, if called to account for his words, he can say he was but telling stories of Alfred and Arthur, and ask you if you cannot see a joke....He has puzzled us therefore, and will puzzle us, until we know much more than we know as yet of the times in which he lived. It is a variegated, tessellated book, this book of his: Dichtung und

¹ See Sir Herbert Maxwell's Introduction to the Scala chronicle.

Wahrheit—or shall we adopt Ihering's Scherz und Ernst in der Jurisprudenz? But why borrow from Germany? Perhaps (but even of this we cannot be sure) we have his own description of his own work: it is ivory and horn.

At the beginning are the words:

Read me, whoe'er the substance of the laws
Desires to see, or plead with sage applause.
Here Ivory's grace attracts apprentice eyes,
While profit for the coif our book supplies.
Horn—Andrew Horn—the author is who writes.
(Aside) Thus Horn with Ivory, Truth with Grace, unites.

Translation by the late Dr Verrall.

Exhibit No. 22 (Parker MS. No. 301) is a fourteenth century manuscript of Walter of Henley's treatise on "Husbandry." The author was originally a "chevalier" and afterwards became a Dominican friar. He wrote in the thirteenth century, his book taking the form of advice, given by an old man to his grandson, as to prudence in the management of affairs. The work has been edited by Dr Cunningham and Miss Lamond.

Exhibit No. 23 (Parker Ms. No. 296) contains Tracts in English by John Wyclif. Written in the fourteenth century it is a leading authority for many of the Wycliffite tracts. It is open at the tract

Of feyned contemplatif lif, of song, of the ordynal of Salisbury and of bodeley almes and worldly bysynesse, of prestis, hou bi these foure the find lettith hem fro prechynge of the gospel.

Exhibit No. 24 (Parker Ms. No. 121) shows the ARTICLES OF RELIGION as drawn up by the London Synod of 1562. The paper is signed, in autograph, by twenty prelates.



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